Downward Assimilation in the New Destinations?
School Non-Enrollment Among Mexican Origin Adolescents in New and Traditional Destinations of Immigrant Settlement

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ABSTRACT

Historically, the Mexican origin population in the United States was highly geographically concentrated in a small number of states. In the 1990s, a significant proportion of the total Mexican origin population began migrating outside of these states, to "new destinations" of immigrant settlement. This research examines how different types of immigrant destinations influence the school non-enrollment outcomes of Mexican origin adolescents. I use the 2005-2007 American Community Survey to compare the rates of school non-enrollment of Mexican origin 15-17 year-olds in new and traditional destination states with those of non-Hispanic whites. I evaluate whether differences in non-enrollment between Mexican origin adolescents in these destinations and non-Hispanic whites can be attributed to variation in individual and household characteristics related to destination selection and the process of assimilation. I show that Mexican origin adolescents in new destinations have higher rates of school non-enrollment than both their peers in traditional destinations and non-Hispanic whites. However, there is no evidence of a net new destination effect on Mexican origin non-enrollment after immigrant generation and parental educational attainment are controlled. Contrary to the predictions of the segmented assimilation theory, the native-born Mexican origin population in traditional destinations does not exhibit higher than average rates of school non-enrollment. In fact, native-born Mexican origin adolescents in traditional destinations experience an enrollment advantage over non-Hispanic whites at comparable levels of parental education. Mexican origin adolescents with the least amount of exposure to the United States, the 1.25 generation, is the most at risk of non-enrollment relative to non-Hispanic whites, regardless of the destination where they reside. Many of these adolescents, however, are likely teenage labor migrants who never enroll in schools in the United States.

Introduction

Geographic patterns of Mexican immigrant settlement have recently undergone a dramatic shift. Historically, the majority of the Mexican origin population resided in urban areas in a small number of states. In the 1990s, a significant contingent of the Mexican origin population began settling in non-traditional immigrant-receiving states such as North Carolina, Georgia, and Nebraska (Massey and Capoferro 2008; Singer 2008; Zúñiga and Hernández-León 2005). By 2000, almost 30 percent of the Hispanic population of Mexican origin was living in a state other than California, Texas, or Illinois (Guzmán 2001). Mexican immigrant arrivals are increasingly attracted to non-traditional gateways. In 2005, over 40 percent of all recent Mexican immigrant arrivals were living outside of the traditional "big five" immigrant-receiving states of California, Texas, Illinois, Florida, and New York (Massey and Capoferro 2008).

In this study, I examine the impact of the recent geographic diversification of Mexican origin settlement on the educational outcomes of Mexican origin adolescents. Specifically, I investigate whether changing geographic patterns of settlement have produced a school enrollment differential between Mexican origin 15-17 year-olds in new and traditional immigrant destinations. Using merged 2005-2007 American Community Survey data, I compare rates of non-enrollment among Mexican origin 15-17 year-olds in traditional immigrant destination states (California, Texas, Illinois, Florida, and New York) with those in new destination states (all other states). Because it is a household survey, the ACS allows me to match the records of Mexican origin 15-17 year-olds with a parent or householder record. I use these matched records to assess whether individual and household characteristics related to destination selection and the process of assimilation account for differences in non-enrollment between Mexican origin adolescents in new and traditional destinations and non-Hispanic whites. I evaluate the roles that immigrant generation (nativity and age of arrival), family status, parental education, household poverty status, and citizenship status play in explaining non-enrollment gaps between Mexican origin 15-17 year-olds in new and traditional destinations and native-born non-Hispanic whites.

The school enrollment outcomes of the Mexican origin adolescent population have both empirical and theoretical significance. Hispanic public school enrollment,

which is dominated by the Mexican origin subgroup, is expected to grow at a faster rate than any other racial or ethnic subgroup in the next fifteen years (National Center for Education Statistics 2010).[1] The young age structure of the Mexican origin population, due to higher than average fertility rates, early childbearing, and migration replenishment, means that the education of Mexican origin students will be a preoccupation of public schools for several years to come (Johnson and Lichter 2010). Recent data shows that the Mexican origin population exhibits more adverse educational outcomes than other national origin immigrant groups. In 2007, approximately 24 percent of the Hispanic population of Mexican origin, ages 25 and older, had not completed high school, compared to 10 percent of the overall U.S. population (Pew Hispanic Center 2009). In the same year, the percentage of Mexican origin 16-24 year-olds who were not enrolled in school and had not received a high school diploma was 22 percent, nearly the highest status dropout rate of any racial or ethnic group in the United States (Aud, Fox, and KawalRamani 2010).

Immigration scholars have hypothesized that the descendants of Mexican immigrants may not achieve educational parity with the non-Hispanic white population, and may be at risk of becoming part of the native-born underclass. Proponents of the generational decline and downward assimilation scenarios argue that factors associated with the modern context of reception, including discrimination, segregation, and bifurcated labor markets, limit opportunities for Mexican Americans to achieve upward mobility, which could relegate some members of this group to an underclass marked by unemployment, concentrated poverty, and crime (Gans 1992; Massey 2007; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997a; Zhou 1997b). Second and higher generation Mexican Americans are considered particularly at risk of downward assimilation, because of their low levels of parental human capital, weak co-ethnic social networks, and lower educational aspirations relative to other immigrant groups (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Segmented assimilation theory places a strong emphasis on the role that urban immigrant-receiving contexts play in producing negative educational outcomes among the Mexican origin second generation. In urban contexts, the children of Mexican

[1] http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2010/2010015/indicator1_1.asp

immigrants are often concentrated in high-poverty neighborhoods with low-quality schools. Second generation Mexican origin adolescents in inner-city communities come into contact with peers who exhibit attitudes that are inimical to upward mobility, and may adopt similar standpoints as a response to perceived discrimination or blocked opportunities (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997a; Zhou 1997b). Mexican immigrant adolescents who live in these urban contexts and exhibit other risk factors, such as living in a non-intact family, have higher rates of educational failure in the form of lower than average standardized test scores or grades, or school abandonment (Portes and Hao 2004; Portes and MacLeod 1996; Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

By focusing on Mexican origin 15-17 year-olds in new and traditional destinations, this study provides a broad view of educational enrollment patterns among the Mexican origin adolescent population in the United States. Mexican origin adolescents in new destinations may exhibit different school non-enrollment outcomes than those in new destinations, due to heterogeneity in the context of reception in new destinations. Compared to traditional destinations, new destinations may have greater variation in school quality, the strength of co-ethnic social networks, and the existence of oppositional peer groups, which have all been shown to influence Mexican origin educational outcomes (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Equally, new destinations may attract Mexican origin families whose background characteristics differ significantly from those in traditional urban destinations. Investigating patterns of Mexican origin non-enrollment in new and traditional destinations thus provides a key opportunity to test the strength of the segmented assimilation theory against the backdrop of the changing geography of Mexican immigration.

Theories of Assimilation and the Mexican Origin Population

The educational outcomes of immigrants, such as rates of school non-enrollment,[2] are indicators of a process of intergenerational change among immigrants known as assimilation. Traditional theories of assimilation, often referred to as "straight-line"

[2] I use the terms "non-enrollment" and "dropout" interchangeably throughout this paper.

theories, predict that initial differences between immigrants and non-immigrants will narrow and disappear over time and across generations, in all domains of social life. Early theorists posited that the speed of assimilation varied by national origin, and was shaped by the degree of subordination that each ethnic group experienced in the United States, as well as the strength and perseverance of the ethnic enclave (Warner and Srole 1945). Gordon (1964) proposed that assimilation consisted of several types or stages, and argued that assimilation did not necessarily proceed uniformly across these domains. In their revision of the classic assimilation cannon, Alba and Nee (2003) have argued that assimilation is not a unidirectional process, but the result of the interplay between immigrants and mainstream society. They propose that the native-born children of immigrants make a conscious decision to leave the ethnic enclave and access mainstream institutions in order to best maximize their opportunities for upward mobility (Alba and Nee 2003). Immigrants also help to re-shape the mainstream in ways that promote diversity and non-discrimination, which further facilitates the process of assimilation.

Many scholars argue that traditional frameworks of assimilation are inapplicable to the Mexican origin population. For instance, Jiménez (2010) argues that traditional theories of assimilation were based on the experiences of Southern, Central and Eastern (SCE) European immigrants living in the northern U.S., and may have looked quite different if the Chicago School had focused on Mexican immigrants living in the Southwest in the early to mid-twentieth century, who were targets of systemic discrimination in labor and housing markets. Segmented assimilation theory also asserts that racial distinctiveness with whites differentiates the experience of the modern children of immigrants from earlier waves of SCE immigrants (Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Portes and Rumbaut note that, although the children of Irish, Italian, and Polish immigrants were initially viewed as racially distinct from whites, their phenotypical similarities with the mainstream prevailed once they "learned unaccented English, adopted American patterns of behavior and dress, and climbed a few rungs of the social ladder" (2001: 55). Segmented assimilation theory argues that racial identification is not a voluntary option for many of the children of contemporary Asian, black, and Latin American immigrants.

The "immigrant optimism" perspective hypothesizes that the immigrant second generation is in the best position to achieve educational success relative to the first or third generations (Kao and Tienda 1995). Second generation adolescents demonstrate full English proficiency and high levels of parental optimism for their educational mobility, which should theoretically lead to better educational outcomes than the first or third generations (Kao and Tienda 1995). However, empirical data on the educational outcomes of first, second, and third generation Hispanic eighth graders (many of whom are of Mexican origin) do not fully support the immigrant optimism perspective. Kao and Tienda (1995) fail to detect significant differences between first, second, and third generation Hispanics on measures of math and reading test scores when parental education and income are held constant. First and second generation Hispanics have higher aspirations to attend college than the third generation (Kao and Tienda 1998). However, contrary to the tenets of the immigrant optimism perspective, college aspirations are highest among first generation, rather than second generation Hispanics.

Several scholars argue that the Mexican origin population is a racialized, colonized, or historically excluded minority group in the United States (Gans 1992; Massey 2007; Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi 1986; Telles and Ortiz 2008). Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi (1986) posit that Mexican American students should be considered caste-like minorities, similar to African American students. Unlike voluntary migrants, caste-like minorities are individuals who are incorporated into the host country via slavery, conquest, or colonization (Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi 1986). This classification overlooks the fact that the vast majority of contemporary Mexican Americans are the descendants of voluntary migrants who arrived in the United States long after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe in 1848 (Jaffe, Cullen, and Boswell 1980). Nonetheless, Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi maintain that the initial incorporation of Mexicans into the United States through territorial colonization set the stage for later generations of Mexican immigrants to be socially constructed as members of a subordinated class, which negatively affects the educational outcomes of Mexican origin adolescents.

Massey (2007) concurs that the Mexican origin population is a racialized minority group in the United States. However, he places a stronger emphasis on the role that U.S. immigration policy has played in socially constructing Mexican immigrants and their

descendants as a subordinate class. While Massey concurs with Ogbu and Matute-Biachi's claim that the territorial incorporation of Mexicans after the Mexican-American war laid the foundations for the racialization of the Mexican origin population, he argues that immigration policy shifts in the late twentieth century and post-9/11 period have helped to codify Mexicans as "officially disposable workers" (2007: 124). Massey fears that increasing levels of segregation, concentrated poverty, diminishing social safety nets, and the emerging hourglass economy will confine Mexican Americans to the lowest position of the social class hierarchy, alongside African Americans. Massey's argument is largely focused on factors that directly impact the experiences of the foreign-born Mexican population, such as the negative effects of undocumented status on labor market opportunities and access to social policy provisions. These factors may be less salient in shaping the educational outcomes of native-born Mexican Americans.

Telles and Ortiz (2008) find empirical support for the racialization hypothesis of Mexican American educational achievement. In their Mexican American Study Project (MASP), Telles and Ortiz document the educational trajectories of the children and grandchildren of a cohort of Mexican American adults who were living in Los Angeles in 1965.[3] Among the sample in the MASP, initial improvements in high school graduation rates between the first and second generation stagnated by the third generation, and the Mexican American fourth generation had lower rates of high school graduation than both the second and third generation cohorts. Telles and Ortiz argue that educational stagnation among higher generation Mexican Americans is the result of prevailing stereotypes in the United States that stigmatize individuals of Mexican origin. Racialization of Mexican Americans is embodied in institutional discrimination, such as under-funded schools, and interpersonal discrimination, exemplified by teachers who communicate to Mexican American students that they are "inferior, lazy, or less worthy students by society in general" (Telles and Ortiz 2008: 285).

Segmented assimilation theory builds on the generational decline hypothesis (Gans 1992) by asserting that some of the children of modern immigrants, especially those with low levels of human capital, will face obstacles in achieving educational and

[3] The original 1965 cohort participated in Grebler, Moore, and Guzmán's 1970 study, titled *The Mexican American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority*.

occupational success in the United States (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997a; Zhou 1997b). Concentrated urban poverty in the cities where immigrants and their children reside, a widening gulf between low and high-skilled jobs, and a lack of mobility ladders impose constraints on the educational and occupational mobility of second and higher immigrant generations (Gans 1992; Massey 2007; Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997a; Zhou 1997b). As a result, some of the children of immigrants will experience downward assimilation through dissonant acculturation, which involves the adoption of an oppositional standpoint towards schools as a response to discrimination and blocked opportunities (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997a; Zhou 1997b; Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Portes and Rumbaut (2001) argue that the Mexican immigrant second generation in the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study (CILS) is a group that is at risk of downward assimilation. Second generation Mexican origin adolescents in the CILS experience adverse educational outcomes at higher rates than most other national origin immigrant groups in the study. The adolescent children of Mexican immigrants had the lowest high school GPAs of any national origin immigrant group in the CILS, even after controlling for individual, family, and school characteristics (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Second generation Mexican origin high school students in the CILS also had the highest levels of inactivity in school (leaving the school system, without being located elsewhere) and the third highest high school dropout rate, behind Cubans and Nicaraguans.[4] Portes and Rumbaut (2001) note that several characteristics of Mexican immigrant families in the CILS are strongly associated with downward assimilation. Mexican immigrant parents earn less than other national origin first generation parents, even after controlling for levels of human capital. Mexican immigrant parents have lower aspirations for their children than other immigrant parents, and second generation Mexican origin adolescents have lower educational expectations than their peers.

Nationally representative studies of high school non-enrollment, dropout, and high school non-completion confirm the existence of persistent educational gaps between the Mexican origin and non-Hispanic white populations (Driscoll 1999; Hirschman 2001;

[4] The Mexican origin dropout rate of approximately 8 percent was still substantially lower than the overall dropout rate in San Diego, which was 16.2 percent in 1996.

Landale, Oropesa, and Llanes 1998; Perreira et al. 2006; Wojtkiewicz and Donato 1995; Zsembik and Llanes 1996). However, virtually all of these studies show that baseline educational gaps are severely reduced or become non-significant when nativity, language ability, and parental/householder attributes are taken into account. Thus, educational disparities between Mexican origin individuals and non-Hispanic whites are not due to ethnic origins per se, but to nativity, language acquisition (for the foreign-born contingent), and socio-economic disadvantage (for second and higher generations). This means that the factors that drive educational disparities between the Mexican origin population and non-Hispanic whites, such as low parental educational attainment, are similar to those that influence educational gaps between most racial/ethnic minority groups and non-Hispanic whites in the United States (Kao and Thompson 2003).

Researchers have not fully explored how the changing geography of Mexican immigration could affect educational outcomes, and thus, patterns of assimilation, among the Mexican origin population in the United States (Waters and Jiménez 2005). Much current theorizing about the fate of the Mexican origin population hinges heavily on analyses of non-representative samples of Mexican Americans in traditional urban immigrant-receiving contexts, such as San Diego and Los Angeles. These samples may not be representative of the overall Mexican origin population, which increasingly resides in non-traditional destinations throughout the country. Equally, the context of reception in new immigrant-receiving gateways may differ from the context of reception in traditional urban gateways in ways that affect educational outcomes related to assimilation. In the next section, I discuss the emergence of new destinations of immigrant settlement, and explore how greater heterogeneity in immigrant-receiving contexts could affect rates of school non-enrollment among the Mexican origin adolescent population.

New Destinations: Implications for Patterns of Mexican Origin Non-Enrollment

Throughout the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century, immigrant settlement in the United States followed a predictable geographic pattern, with the majority of immigrants settling in urban areas in a handful of immigrant-receiving states.

Portes and Rumbaut note that this consistent spatial pattern was largely the result of the "characteristic economics of immigration," in which immigrants are drawn by co-ethnic recruitment into entry level or low-skilled jobs in urban areas undergoing economic growth (2006: 58-59). A rupture in historically predictable patterns of Mexican immigrant settlement began to occur in the 1990s. From 1985 to 1990, the "Big Five" states of immigration (California, Texas, Florida, Illinois, New York) received 86 percent of all recent Mexican arrivals (Massey and Capoferro 2008: 40). By 2005, this number had dropped below 70 percent, with approximately one-third of all recent Mexican immigrant arrivals settling in "new destination" states that had a small or non-existent Mexican immigrant population prior to 1980 (Massey and Capoferro 2008). In 2000, the Hispanic population comprised 6-24 percent of the total population in several non-traditional immigrant-receiving counties in states such as Minnesota, North Carolina, Georgia, Iowa, Arkansas, and Nebraska (Guzmán 2001).

A variety of factors have "pushed" the Mexican origin population away from traditional gateways and "pulled" them into new destinations. The amnesty provisions of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) gave legal residency to nearly three million previously undocumented immigrants. As a result, labor markets in California became saturated with recently legalized immigrants, prompting some migrants to seek employment opportunities in other states (Massey and Capoferro 2008). Stringent border controls at selective locations across the U.S.-Mexico border have also diverted migrants away from traditional land crossings in Texas and California towards new, often more dangerous, points of entry in states such as Arizona (Cornelius 2001; Massey, Durand, and Malone 2002; Massey and Capoferro 2008). Finally, the passage of Proposition 187 in California in 1994, which sought to eliminate access to social services for immigrants and their children, sent a clear message to immigrants that they were no longer welcome in California (Massey and Capoferro 2008).

On the demand side, large-scale economic restructuring in labor-intensive industries has helped to draw Mexican immigrants into new destinations. Industrial restructuring has been typified by consolidation and vertical integration, resulting in the de-skilling of production at the bottom rungs of the occupational hierarchy in industries such as meat-packing and food processing, which are heavily concentrated in new

destination areas (Griffith 2005; Parrado and Kandel 2008). As these industries have restructured, native-born workers have increasingly shunned the low wages and dangerous work associated with these jobs, prompting employers to recruit immigrant labor to fill the lowest level positions (Griffith 2005, Parrado and Kandel 2008). In some areas, industrial restructuring has been accompanied by demographic shifts that have further increased employer demand for immigrant labor. In mid-sized metropolitan areas on the mid-Atlantic coast, for example, population growth has spurred a need for labor in industries such as construction (Parrado and Kandel 2008). Recruitment of immigrant workers has also helped to offset the decline in the native-born workforce in counties with low fertility rates or high rates of out-migration (Donato et al. 2008).

Research on immigrants in new destinations is still a developing area of inquiry, making it difficult to construct hypotheses concerning the directionality and magnitude of differences in rates of school non-enrollment among Mexican origin adolescents in new and traditional destinations. Much of the available data on the Mexican origin population in new destinations consists of localized case studies of specific cities, such as Dalton, Georgia, or Marshalltown, Iowa (see Zúñiga and Hernández-Leon 2005). Nationally representative studies that compare outcomes across destinations are only beginning to emerge (see, for example, Fischer 2010 and Lichter et al. 2010). As I discuss later, many of these emerging studies use a different set of criteria to define new destinations, which hinders an effective comparison of results across studies. Nonetheless, many of these studies suggest that Mexican origin adolescents in new destinations will higher rates of school non-enrollment than those in traditional destinations.

Fischer (2010) finds that, net of individual, household, and community background characteristics, 15-17 year-olds living in "new destination" Public Use Microdata Areas (PUMAs) in 2000 had higher school non-enrollment rates than those in established "maintaining" destination PUMAs (destinations with a significant foreign-born population in 1990 that maintained steady foreign-born growth from 1990 to 2000). Fischer shows that foreign-born Mexican origin adolescents who lived in areas that experienced rapid growth in the foreign-born population from 1990 to 2000 were 1.3 times more likely to be non-enrolled in school than native-born 15-17 year-olds, controlling for householder socio-economic characteristics and community attributes.

These results suggest that new destinations will have a negative effect on Mexican origin school enrollment, net of socio-economic background characteristics. Fischer's analysis does not focus specifically on Mexican origin adolescents, but on several national origin immigrant groups. My analysis extends Fischer's work by focusing specifically on the Mexican origin population and by interacting ethnic origin and destination type.

Qualitative studies of state and local responses to immigrants in new destination communities provide further evidence that rates of non-enrollment among Mexican origin adolescents may be higher in new destinations than in traditional destinations. School districts in new destinations face a number of obstacles in meeting the needs of immigrant student populations. New destination state educational agencies often lack the political will to meet the educational needs of foreign-born communities, and shift the burden of responsibility to local school districts. In their analysis of Mexican migration to Nebraska, for example, Gouveia, Carranza, and Cogua argued that Nebraska's commitment to meeting the linguistic and educational needs of immigrants and their children was "questionable at best" (2005: 45). Many school districts in new destination communities have shown a clear effort to address the educational needs of immigrant students, building on federal programs such as Head Start and Title I, hiring interpreters, creating international welcome centers, and even establishing bi-national educational interventions, such as the Georgia Project (Hamann 2003; Hernández-León and Zúñiga 2005; Kandel and Parrado 2006; Lacy and Odem 2009). Still, new destination school districts face a set of constraints on immigrant students' educational progress that are common to districts that serve minority students. Parents of native-born children in new destinations may withdraw their children from schools that have growing immigrant student enrollments, leading to immigrant/non-immigrant school segregation (Hernández-León and Zuñiga 2005; Kandel and Parrado 2006). The high mobility rates of immigrant families, as well as the attractiveness of local employment opportunities as an alternative to schooling, pose further challenges for education systems in new destination communities (Kandel and Parrado 2006).

Studies of inter-ethnic relations and segregation in new destinations also suggest that these locations may create a hostile context of reception for Mexican origin adolescents. Several qualitative investigations of inter-ethnic relations in new

destinations show that a portion of individuals in new destination communities resent having to accommodate newcomers, and that these sentiments are strongest among lower or working-class whites who perceive immigrants to be a threat to their economic security and local ways of life (Fennelly 2008; Hernández-León and Zuñiga 2005; Lattanzi Shutika 2005). The first study to analyze segregation in new destinations also finds new destinations to be more segregated than established destinations. Lichter et al. (2010), show that Hispanic-white segregation levels are higher in new destinations than in established destinations, even after controlling for differences in the demographic and economic composition of the destination. They conclude that Hispanic residential attainment patterns in new destinations resemble those of African Americans, providing support for the place stratification model of spatial attainment in these locations.

Individual and household background factors related to selection into destinations and the process of assimilation could also explain non-enrollment differences between new destination Mexican origin adolescents and non-Hispanic whites. New destinations tend to attract Mexican immigrants with lower levels of education and fewer years of experience in the United States than other immigrants. Donato et al. (2008) found that Mexican-born immigrants living in non-metropolitan "offset" counties in 2000 had fewer average years of schooling and higher poverty rates than their counterparts in offset metropolitan areas.[5] Leach and Bean (2008) also showed that recent immigrants to new destinations in 2000 had fewer years of experience and lower rates of naturalization than recent immigrants who resided in those areas in 1990, indicating that immigrants to these locations became negatively selected over time. Similarly, Parrado and Kandel (2008) demonstrate that the average educational levels of Hispanics working in the construction and meat-processing industries in new destinations stagnated from 1980 to 2000. New destination areas where these types of industries dominate the local economy are likely to have higher concentrations of negatively selected migrants. The magnitude of the non-enrollment gap between new destination Mexican origin adolescents and non-Hispanics whites could thus be influenced by the higher than average concentration of negatively selected Mexican origin immigrants in these destinations.

[5] Donato et al. define offset counties as those that experienced a decline in the native-born population that was "offset" by an increase in the foreign-born population. (2008:77)

In this analysis, I use individual and household-level data from the American Community Survey to examine observed and adjusted new destination effects on the relative odds of school non-enrollment between Mexican origin adolescents and non-Hispanic whites. I begin by quantifying the magnitude of the difference in rates of non-enrollment between Mexican origin adolescents in new and traditional destinations and non-Hispanic whites. I show that, from 2005-2007, 11.5 percent of all Mexican origin 15-17 year-olds in new destination states were not enrolled in school, compared to 6.1 percent of Mexican origin adolescents in traditional destination states, and 3.7 percent of non-Hispanic whites in all states. I use a series of nested logistic regression models to explore whether differences in the relative odds of non-enrollment between new destination and traditional destination Mexican origin adolescents and non-Hispanic whites prevail after controlling for immigrant generation (nativity and duration of residence), family composition, parental education, household poverty status, and citizenship status. If significant differences in the relative odds of non-enrollment remain after these characteristics are held constant, then unmeasured variables related to immigrant destinations may be salient in producing non-enrollment gaps between the Mexican origin population and non-Hispanic whites.

Data and Sample

To examine the school enrollment patterns of the Mexican origin and non-Hispanic white (NH white) populations, I use the Integrated Public Use Microdata Sample (IPUMS) version of the 2005-2007 American Community Survey (ACS), courtesy of the Minnesota Population Center (Ruggles et al. 2009). The 2005-2007 ACS is a nationally representative sample of the United States population, and is created by merging the 1 percent ACS samples for each year and adjusting the person weights to the population total over the three-year period. All subsequent calculations use the person weights provided by IPUMS.

To create the sample for analysis, I extract the records of all 15-17 year-olds from the three-year ACS data set.[6] A major advantage of the ACS is that it is a household survey, allowing me to match the individual records of all 15-17 year-old subjects with a

[6] I use the term "adolescents" interchangeably with "15-17 year-olds."

parental or householder record. At ages 15-17, most adolescents are still living as dependents of parents or other family members. Table 1 shows the family composition patterns of all 15-17 year-olds in the merged 2005-2007 ACS file, as well as the family composition of Mexican origin and NH white adolescents. I use this information to create a scheme to match the records of 15-17 year-old subjects in the 2005-2007 ACS dataset with a parental or householder record. For adolescents living with a mother or father in the household, I match the individual 15-17 year-old record with the record/s of his/her mother and/or father. Approximately 92.3 percent of all 15-17 year-old subjects in the 2005-2007 ACS are matched with at least one parental record.

For adolescents not living with either a mother or a father in the household, I match the individual 15-17 year-old record with the householder record. In census data, the householder is a descriptive term for the person in the household who fills out the survey. All other relationships in the household are established in reference to the householder. For adolescents not living with either parent, I use the householder as a proxy for the parent-like figure in the household. In most situations where adolescents are not living with parents, the householder is often a blood relative, such as a grandparent, older relative, or older sibling. It is thus reasonable to assume that these adolescents have a dependent-like relationship with the householder. I match approximately 6.4 percent of all 15-17 year-old records with a householder record. In my analysis, I create a separate category to identify subjects not living with either parent, under the "family status" variable, and use householder education as a proxy for parental education for subjects not living with a parent.

I am unable to match a small subset of all 15-17 year-old subjects with either a parental or householder record. This group includes adolescents who have "other" household family compositions, including those who live alone, those who consider themselves the householder, and those living in group quarters such as juvenile detention centers or boarding houses. I do not exclude these cases from my analysis. Table 1 shows that these cases represent only 1.3 percent of all 15-17 year-olds in the 2005-2007 ACS dataset. Furthermore, many of these subjects remain enrolled in school, and thus should not be excluded from my analysis. I identify these cases in the family status variable ("not living with parents") and parental education variable ("no householder

record"). In other words, these cases can be identified as subjects "not living with parents" who "lack a householder record." Including these cases does not substantially change the results of my analyses.

Similar to the decennial censuses, the ACS does not include a question about parental birthplace. This makes it difficult to precisely identify the Mexican origin population. To circumvent this challenge, I use information on nativity, parental nativity (for subjects living with at least one parent), and Mexican Hispanic identification on the Hispanic origin question to identify the Mexican origin population. Specifically, I define Mexican origin adolescents as 15-17 year-olds in the 2005-2007 ACS who meet at least one of the following three criteria:

1) The subject was born in Mexico[7] *or*
2) At least one of the subject's parents was born in Mexico *or*
3) The subject identifies as Mexican Hispanic on the Hispanic origin question.[8]

Approximately 40,894 of all 15-17 year-old cases in the 2005-2007 ACS (or, 10.5 percent of the overall 15-17 year-old population) meet these criteria. Using Hispanic Mexican identification to define the Mexican origin population is potentially problematic, given the selective nature of Hispanic identification among the native-born Mexican origin population. Duncan and Trejo (2007) hypothesize that higher generation Americans of Mexican descent who continue to identify as Hispanic may be negatively selected, in terms of human capital and labor market outcomes, than those who do not identify as Hispanic. They also raise the possibility that children of intermarried couples (with one Mexican parent) may be less likely to identify as Hispanic. Given that Mexican adults with higher than average socio-economic indicators are likely to intermarry (Duncan and Trejo 2007), the children of intermarried couples who do not

[7] I include adolescents who were born in Mexico to American parents as part of the Mexican origin population. Approximately 355 subjects in the 2005-2007 ACS are adolescents who were born in Mexico to American parents. Of this total, approximately 303 cases (85.4 percent) are subjects who consider themselves Mexican Hispanic, and thus fit at least one of the criteria for inclusion in the Mexican origin group.

[8] The Hispanic origin question allows subjects to identify as Hispanic from major countries of origin. It is possible to identify as Hispanic- Mexican, Hispanic- Puerto Rican, Hispanic- Cuban, or Hispanic- Other. I focus on those subjects that identified as Hispanic- Mexican.

Table 1. Family composition of Persons, ages 15 to 17, American Community Survey (ACS) 2005-2007.

	Total Population		Mexican origin		NH White	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Lives with:						
Both parents	251,063	64.6%	25,457	62.3%	181,182	71.4%
Mother, no father	84,212	21.7%	8,781	21.5%	43,588	17.2%
Father, no mother	23,446	6.0%	2,464	6.0%	15,403	6.1%
Householder (no mother or father present)	24,861	6.4%	3,565	8.7%	11,457	4.5%
Other (Lives alone, group quarters, other)	5,065	1.3%	627	1.5%	2,118	0.8%
Total	388,647	100.0%	40,894	100.0%	253,748	100.0%

*All totals (N) and proportions are unweighted.

identify as Hispanic may have more successful school enrollment outcomes than those children of endogenous Mexican origin couples, who are more likely to retain their Hispanic identity. Although data limitations prevent Duncan and Trejo from making robust conclusions about the relationships between intermarriage, ethnic identification, and socio-economic status,[9] it is important to acknowledge the possibility that the third and higher generation Mexican origin subgroup in my sample may have less favorable household socio-economic characteristics than the "true" third and higher generation population. This would present a slight upward bias on rates of non-enrollment among the third and higher generation subgroup in this sample.

Table 2 displays Mexican Hispanic self-identification by nativity and parental nativity (for those 15-17 year-old subjects living with at least one parent). The overwhelming majority of both the native and foreign-born Mexican origin population in my sample identifies as Mexican Hispanic, although this percentage drops slightly for the identifiable second generation. In the absence of a parental birthplace question, I am only able to identify third and higher generation adolescents (or second and higher generation adolescents not living with parents) of Mexican descent through the Hispanic origin question. This means that the third and higher generation groups within my Mexican origin sample are not representative of the true third and higher generation descendants of Mexican immigrants, but of those individuals who continue to self-identify as Mexican Hispanic. I recognize the limitations of this approach, but am willing to risk the potential bias introduced by selective Hispanic identity in order to compare my results with previous research on generational differences within the Mexican origin population.

[9] Duncan and Trejo use a surname technique to compare higher generation Americans of Mexican descent who do not identify as Hispanic with those who do identify as Hispanic. The overwhelming majority of individuals with Spanish surnames, however, identify as Hispanic, making the comparison group extremely small. They also acknowledge that they are not able to directly identify biases in the intergenerational progress of Mexican Americans that are attributable to selective intermarriage and ethnic identification, because they cannot fully identify all families who descend from Mexican immigrants, especially later generations.

Table 2. Rates of "Hispanic- Mexican" identification, by Nativity and Parental Nativity, Persons Ages 15 to 17, 2005-2007 ACS.

	Total	Identifies as Hispanic-Mexican	Percent
Total Mexican origin sample	40894	39236	95.9%
Born in Mexico	8560	8306	97.0%
Native-born (Total)	32334	30930	95.7%
Native-born, mother or father born in Mexico (Identifiable 2nd Generation)	17621	16217	92.0%
Mother or father not born in Mexico (Identifiable 3rd or Higher Generation)	12028	12028	100.0%

*All totals and proportions are unweighted.

The comparison group in this study is 15-17 year-old native-born non-Hispanic whites (referred to as NH whites throughout this analysis). This subsample includes 15-17 year-olds in the 2005-2007 ACS sample who meet *all* of the following four criteria:

1) The respondent was born in the United States (not including territories such as Puerto Rico) *and*
2) The respondent does not identify as Hispanic *and*
3) The respondent identifies as white either alone or in combination with another race *and*
4) Neither of the respondent's parents was born in Mexico.

Approximately 253,748 individuals, or 65.3 percent of the overall 15-17 year-old population, meet these criteria. In sum, my final subsample for analysis includes approximately 294,642 cases: 40,894 Mexican origin cases and 253,748 NH white cases.

Variables

New and Traditional Immigrant Destinations

A survey of the current literature on new destinations of Mexican immigrant settlement quickly reveals that there is no consistent operationalization of new and traditional destinations. This problem is partially due to variations in the geographic unit of analysis used to define different types of destinations. Researchers studying new

destinations focus on counties (Donato et al. 2008), "places," defined as "incorporated cities, towns, and villages, as well as unincorporated communities and housing developments that lack municipal governments" (Lichter et al. 2010: 217-218), Public Use Microdata Areas (Fischer 2010), metropolitan areas (Singer 2008), or states (Massey and Capoferro 2008). Studies of new destinations also use a different set of criteria to establish a typology of destinations. Many analyses use a foreign-born growth rate approach to identify new destinations (Fischer 2010; Lichter et al. 2010), while others focus on flows of different immigrant groups to destinations over time (Singer 2008). In most cases, a dichotomous "new/traditional destination" categorization is shunned in favor of a more complex typology.

Massey and Capoferro (2008) take the broadest approach to identifying new destinations. In their typology, traditional destinations are considered the "big five" immigrant-receiving states (California, Texas, Illinois, New York, and Florida) that received the majority of recent immigrants prior to 1990. They further identify five "second tier" states (New Jersey, Massachusetts, Washington, Virginia, and Maryland), which received a notable proportion of recent immigrants prior to 1990. New destinations are considered all other states. In this analysis, I utilize Massey and Capoferro's (2008) broad approach to identify new destinations, distinguishing new from traditional destinations at the state level. This ensures that no case is excluded from my analysis, such as persons living in non-metropolitan areas. I use a variation of Massey and Capoferro's (2008) typology to define new and traditional destinations. I classify the "big five" states that received the bulk of immigrants from 1965 to 1990 as traditional destinations (California, Texas, New York, Illinois, Florida). All other states are considered new destinations. As with any typology, these broad categories are somewhat problematic, due to variations in the history of Mexican immigrant flows to lower level geographic units (cities, counties, MSAs) within states. To be sure, these categories do not acknowledge that some areas within traditional immigrant-receiving states are considered "new" gateways, such as the Sacramento MSA in California (Singer 2008). Additionally, New York and Florida did not receive large numbers of Mexican origin immigrants during most of the period from 1965 to 1990 (Massey and Capoferro 2008), and could be considered "new" Mexican immigrant gateways.

Despite potential shortcomings, I argue that a dichotomous new/traditional destination variable captures differences between states that are pertinent to immigrant integration. Just as demographers believe that metropolitan "age" has an enduring effect on patterns of urbanization, a state's immigration "age," or length of historical experience with immigrants, will likely impact its overall context of integration. Traditional destination states in my analysis should thus be viewed as "older" states of immigration that have a longer history of accommodating large numbers of immigrant minorities in social institutions such as school. These states are more likely to have the infrastructure necessary to accommodate the needs of immigrants and their descendants, and immigrant social networks and enclave communities are likely more well-established than in non-traditional gateways.

Immigrant Generation and Age of Arrival

The concept of the immigrant generation is central to the study of immigrant incorporation. As Rumbaut (2004) states, immigrant generations indicate the degree of removal between those who engage in the act of migration and their descendants. Generational groups encapsulate distinct cohort experiences and serve as a measure of the degree of exposure that individuals have had to their receiving society and its institutions. Comparing outcomes among generational cohorts provides a means to measure the intergenerational process of assimilation. While first generation outcomes are often attributed to the discontinuity between sending and receiving societies, the failure of second and higher generation immigrants to achieve significant gains over previous generations is indicative of a process of socio-economic stagnation or decline.

I use an approximation of Rumbaut's (2004) typology to classify the Mexican origin population into four categories by nativity and age at arrival: The 1.25 generation, 1.5 generation, 1.75 generation, and the native-born, or second and higher generations. The 1.25 generation includes those who migrated after the age of 12, the most recent arrivals. As Hirschman (2001) notes, some recent arrivals that are not enrolled in school may not be dropouts, but labor migrants who never enroll in school in the United States. Oropesa and Landale (2009) also find that school-based studies of non-enrollment rates often exclude from their sampling universes the population of recent arrivals who never

enroll in school, which produces an upward bias on estimates of high school enrollment rates for the overall Mexican origin population. It is important, then, to identify new arrivals as a unique, and sometimes statistically forgotten, subpopulation within the Mexican origin group.

The 1.5 generation are individuals who arrived between the ages of 6 and 12, and likely had some schooling in Mexico. These individuals will not face the same number of obstacles to integration as new arrivals, but may still experience problems due to the discontinuities associated with attending school in two different countries. The 1.75 generation are adolescents who arrived in the United States by the age of five. The 1.75 generation should be more integrated into the United States school system than the 1.5 and 1.25 generations, given that they have spent the majority of their school-aged lives in the United States. For this reason, the 1.75 generation is often considered comparable to the immigrant second generation (see, for example, Perlmann 2005 and Kasinitz et al. 2008).

The elimination of the parental birthplace question from the decennial census in 1980 makes it difficult for researchers to distinguish between second and third and higher generations in census data (Hirschman 1994). This problem is not resolved in the ACS, which does not ask about parental birthplace.[10] The parental record matching technique described above helps me to identify parental birthplace in my analysis, but only for the subset of adolescents that are living with at least one parent. Even with this parental record matching technique, I cannot accurately identify the immigrant generation of Hispanic Mexican individuals who were born in the United States but do not live with either parent. Native-born Mexican origin adolescents living in single-parent households also pose a problem for the precise identification of generational status, because the parent who is not living in the household may be foreign-born. To circumvent these challenges, I classify all native-born Mexican origin 15-17 year-olds as members of the

[10] Although the Current Population Survey (CPS) includes a question about parental birthplace, it does not include 15 year-olds in the universe for the question regarding high school attendance. Using the CPS would make my analysis incompatible with earlier studies of enrollment patterns among 15-17 year-old immigrants (such as Hirschman 2001). Including 15 year-olds in my analysis increases my overall sample size of Mexican origin adolescents. In sum, although the CPS would allow for a more precise identification of the Mexican origin second and third generations, the ACS allows for greater inclusivity of age groups in my analysis of non-enrollment.

"second and higher generation." The implications of this categorization are discussed in the results section.

Family Status

Family structure is a powerful predictor of educational non-enrollment. Previous studies show that living in a single-parent family exerts a significant, negative impact on educational enrollment and high school completion (Hirschman 2001; Landale, Oropesa, and Llanes 1998; McLanahan 1985; Sandefur, McLanahan, and Wojtkiewicz 1992). For the Hispanic population, living in a single parent or stepparent family increases the odds of high school dropout or failure to complete a high school degree relative to individuals in two-parent family structures (Landale, Oropesa, and Llanes 1998; Perreira, Harris, and Lee 2006; Wojtkiewicz and Donato 1995).[11] Portes and Rumbaut (2001) argue that, for the children of immigrants, intact families offer protection from external discrimination and provide children with the necessary resources and guidance to navigate local educational and labor markets. Kasinitz et al. (2008) also find that many second generation adolescents who grew up in intact families had a less disruptive family migration process, giving them greater household stability and better educational outcomes than those who experienced periodic separation from parents. For this analysis, I classify families as intact (two parents in the household), mother only, father only, or no parents present. I do not explore stepparent effects.

Parental Education

Parental educational attainment levels exert a strong influence on children's educational outcomes. Status attainment models developed in the 1960s and 1970s demonstrated that socio-economic origins, including parental educational attainment, had a major impact on children's educational attainment (Blau and Duncan 1967; Duncan, Featherman, and Duncan 1972; Sewell and Hauser 1972). Kao and Thompson (2003) note that family background, particularly parental education, continues to explain educational gaps between white and nonwhite ethnic groups. Researchers find that some

[11] Perreira, Harris, and Lee (2006) observe no significant difference in the likelihood of high school completion between individuals in single mother households and those in two-parent households, but a significant, negative difference in the odds of high school completion between individuals in single father households and those in two-parent households.

immigrant children are able to overcome the limitations of their parents' low educational attainment through selective acculturation, by maintaining strong ties to the home immigrant culture and language (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Co-ethnic social capital can also assist children in families with low levels of parental human capital by shielding immigrant children from external discrimination or offering parents information about school choice and supplementary schooling opportunities (Kasinitz et al. 2008; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Despite the potential salience of these intervening factors, parental educational attainment continues to have strong predictive power for the educational outcomes of the Mexican origin population (Landale, Oropesa, and Llanes 1998; Wojtkiewicz and Donato 1995; Zsembik and Llanes 1996).

In this analysis, I collapse parental educational attainment levels into four categories: less than high school graduate, high school graduate, some college, or college degree or higher (including an Associate's degree), and "no householder record." The latter category identifies the subset of adolescents who do not live with parents and do not have a householder record. Previous analyses have used a variety of measures to explore the role of parental educational attainment on children's outcomes, including father's education, mother's education, or highest parental education. To determine whether mother's education, father's education, or highest parental education provides the best model fit for predicting the odds of Mexican origin non-enrollment relative to non-Hispanic whites, I compared the Bayesian Information Criterion (or BIC, see Raftery 1995) values for three logistic regression models of non-enrollment to enrollment: regressing non-enrollment on mother's education, regressing non-enrollment on father's education, and regressing non-enrollment on highest parental level of education. Regressing non-enrollment on highest parental education level yielded the lowest BIC, indicating that highest parental education provides the best model fit for the estimated effect of parental educational attainment on the log odds of non-enrollment. Based on these results, I use highest parental education as a key measure of parental educational attainment for adolescents living in intact families, mother's education for those living with single mothers, father's education for those living with single fathers, and householder education for adolescents living in households where neither parent is present.

Metropolitan Status

As discussed, Mexican origin adolescents are increasingly living outside of the central city, in both suburban and non-metropolitan areas. The barriers that the central city imposes on educational success for the children of immigrants are well documented, including bifurcated labor markets, exposure to oppositional subcultures or gangs, and the persistence of low quality schools (Kasinitz et al. 2008; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997a; Zhou 1997b; Smith 2006). It is unclear whether the structural attributes of rural areas also create obstacles to educational enrollment for the children of immigrants. For example, Reeves and Bylund's (2005) review of studies comparing rural and urban education outcomes reveal inconsistent support for the claim that rural status adversely affects student achievement outcomes, or that rural schools are worse than urban schools. Rumberger and Palardy (2005), who study school-level determinants of dropout rates, also find no evidence of a rural status differential in school-level dropout rates. Case studies of rural new immigrant destinations, however, suggest that rural areas may lack the necessary resources to meet the specific linguistic and educational needs of newly arrived immigrant children (Gouveia, Carranza, and Cogua 2005). Whereas rural areas may not hinder the educational outcomes of the average American student, they could impose more difficulties for immigrant students.

An appropriate analysis of metropolitan status effects on non-enrollment would divide metropolitan areas into central city and suburban components. It is not possible, however, to identify central city and suburban status for a significant number of cases in the 2005-2007 ACS. In the IPUMS ACS files, a large number of cases are reported as living in metropolitan areas, but the central city status is labeled as "unknown." According to frequencies provided by IPUMS, in the 2005 ACS, approximately 41 percent of all respondents living in metropolitan areas fell into the "central city status unknown" category.[12] The ACS limits the identification of central city status as a means to protect respondent confidentiality in smaller metropolitan areas. These limitations prevent me from controlling directly for central city and suburban status in my models. Instead, I control only for non-metropolitan status. While this prevents me from making

[12] See http://usa.ipums.org/usa-action/codes.do?mnemonic=METRO (Accessed August 29, 2010.)

conclusions about the role of the central city in producing divergent outcomes among the Mexican origin population, it does allow me to examine how rural status affects non-enrollment in new and traditional destinations, which has not been sufficiently explored in the research literature on new destinations.

Poverty Status

Income and home ownership are important household economic resources that families can invest in their children's education (Conley 2001). I use the *poverty* variable in the IPUMS ACS data set as a broad measure of household resources. The ACS poverty variable incorporates information on total family income, family size, number of children, and householder age to determine whether a family's poverty level is higher or lower than 100 percent of the poverty thresholds established by the Social Security Administration.[13] In this analysis, I use poverty instead of income because the ACS poverty variable normalizes income levels over other variables such as the number of children in the household and householder age. Because the poverty measure is associated with income levels, it may be sensitive to local variations in the structure of the labor market and cost of living. This could lead to endogeneity concerns in logistic regression models. The poverty variable is primarily useful in the descriptive analysis of Mexican origin adolescents in new and traditional destinations. I will demonstrate that, in logistic regression models, poverty does not have a strong effect on non-enrollment, net of parental education. Thus, my conclusions are robust to the exclusion of the poverty variable from these models. I use the ACS poverty variable to classify families as living at three economic levels: below the poverty threshold (value on the poverty variable is less than 100 percent), one to two times the poverty threshold (poverty value is 100 to 200 percent of the threshold), or over two times the poverty threshold (poverty value is over 200 percent of the poverty threshold).

Citizenship Status

Significant numbers of foreign-born Mexican origin individuals are undocumented non-citizens who did not arrive in the United States through sanctioned

[13] http://usa.ipums.org/usa-action/variableDescription.do?mnemonic=POVERTY (Accessed September 3, 2010).

channels. Bean et al. (2001) estimated that, in 2000, approximately 45.9 percent of the foreign-born Mexican origin population was undocumented. Foreign-born Mexican origin 15-17 year-olds who are undocumented will be at greater risk of non-enrollment in school relative to those who are legal residents, naturalized citizens, or native-born. It is important, then, to determine the extent to which non-enrollment could be due to citizenship status. It is not possible to identify undocumented non-citizens using census data. As a proxy, I identify non-citizens-- individuals who were born in Mexico to non-American parents, who lack legal resident status, and who have not undergone some part of the process of naturalization. Not all non-citizens are undocumented, and some undocumented citizens may not correctly report their citizenship status. This will slightly bias estimates of the effect of citizenship on non-enrollment.

Linguistic Isolation and Youth Employment Status

Previous studies of Mexican origin educational outcomes have shown that English language proficiency may play a role in educational non-enrollment. Landale, Oropesa, and Llanes (1998) find that individuals who have a limited English proficiency (do not speak English well) have higher odds of dropping out, and Oropesa and Landale (2010) show that a large proportion of Mexican immigrant youth who never enroll in U.S. schools have low English proficiency. I do not control directly for English proficiency in multivariate logistic regression models because of potential endogeneity with the opportunity to learn and use English in different types of destinations. I examine the linguistic isolation of Mexican origin households in new and traditional destinations, but only report this information in descriptive results. According to the ACS, a linguistically isolated household is defined as a household where no person over the age of 14 speaks English at home, or where English may be spoken, but no one over the age of 14 speaks English "very well."[14] I use this definition of linguistic isolation in descriptive tables comparing Mexican origin 15-17 year-olds in new and traditional destinations.

Youth employment status is also an important correlate of school non-enrollment, but may also be endogenous to both non-enrollment and destination type. In cross-

[14] See http://usa.ipums.org/usa-action/variableDescription.do?mnemonic=LINGISOL (Accessed September 20, 2010).

sectional data, it is not possible to show that youth employment was causally prior to non-enrollment. Furthermore, different types of destinations likely offer varying opportunities for youth employment. Similar to linguistic isolation, I present descriptive data on youth employment rates among the eligible employed population (ages 16 and 17) by destination type. To measure rates of youth employment, I use the four employment status categories listed in the ACS: "not applicable" (age 15), employed (part-time or full-time), unemployed, or not in the labor force.

Descriptive Results

Demographic and Socio-economic Characteristics

Consistent with previous analyses, Mexican origin 15-17 year-olds in the 2005-2007 ACS have more disadvantaged household profiles than NH whites. A lower percentage of the overall Mexican origin population lives in intact (two parent) families compared to NH whites. Over 10 percent of the Mexican population lives in a household where neither a mother nor father is present, which constitutes a major risk factor for non-enrollment. The Mexican origin population also has lower overall levels of parental education and a higher proportion of households living in poverty than the NH white population. Over 40 percent of Mexican origin parents failed to attain a high school degree, and over 25 percent of Mexican origin households live below the poverty threshold. Given the strong relationship between socio-economic background and educational outcomes, these factors are likely to increase Mexican origin rates of non-enrollment relative to NH whites.

Regionally, over half of the Mexican origin population lives in the Western states, and just under one-third of this population lives in the South. Despite a recent increase in Mexican immigrant settlement in places such as New York City (Smith 2006), only a small fraction of the overall Mexican origin population resides in the Northeast. Consistent with historical patterns of immigrant settlement, the Mexican origin population is more likely to be found in metropolitan than in non-metropolitan areas. Less than 10 percent of the Mexican origin adolescent population lives in a rural area, compared to approximately 20 percent of all NH white adolescents.

Socio-economic background characteristics differ among generational subgroups within the Mexican origin population. Table 3 shows that foreign-born (first generation) Mexican origin 15-17 year-olds have more disadvantaged family compositions and socio-economic backgrounds than the native-born Mexican origin population. The foreign-born Mexican origin population is less likely than the native-born population to live in an intact family, and is more likely to live in a household where neither a mother nor father is present. The disadvantaged position of the newest arrivals, the 1.25 generation, may be skewing the overall profile of the first generation. Over 40 percent of 1.25 generation Mexican origin adolescents live in a household where no parent is present. In contrast, 1.75 generation adolescents are more likely to live in an intact family than all other generational subgroups.

Although parental educational attainment levels are low among the overall Mexican origin population, they improve steadily with nativity status and duration of residence in the United States. The percentage of Mexican origin 15-17 year-olds whose parent attained less than a high school degree drops from 60.4 percent for the first generation to 35.7 percent for the second and higher generations. Although the percentage of parents who fail to attain a high school degree is quite high compared to NH whites, it is important to remember that many parents in this group are foreign born, and had little exposure to the United States' education system. First generation Mexican origin 15-17 year-olds are also more likely to live in households that are below the poverty threshold than the second and higher generation. This is due to the strong correlation between parental educational attainment and household income. Non-citizens are also over-represented among the foreign-born Mexican origin population. Non-citizen status is extremely prevalent among the foreign-born Mexican adolescent population. Approximately 88 percent of foreign-born Mexican origin 15-17 year-olds in the 2005-2007 ACS are non-citizens. Among those who arrive in the United States after the age of 5 (the 1.5 and 1.25 generations), this rate exceeds 90 percent. To the extent that non-citizen status is a proxy for undocumented status, this constitutes a major barrier to educational success for the first generation.

This descriptive survey shows that generational groups within the Mexican origin 15-17 year-old population have distinct socio-demographic backgrounds, which

are likely to influence patterns of non-enrollment. The most recent arrivals, the 1.25 generation, are outliers on several variables. The 1.25 generation is more heavily comprised of older males (age 17) who are not living with a mother or father. This is consistent with the profile of labor migrants who never enroll in United States schools (Oropesa and Landale 2009). The 1.25 generation also has the highest percentage of parents who failed to attain a high school degree. This group is likely to have the most disadvantaged enrollment outcomes compared to other Mexican origin generational subgroup.

These descriptive results also reveal lingering socio-economic differences between native-born (2+ generation) Mexican origin adolescents and native-born NH whites. Compared to NH whites, the native-born Mexican origin population is more likely to live in a single parent household or a household where no parent is present. Approximately 36 percent of second and higher generation Mexican origin parents failed to attain a high school degree, compared to 5 percent of NH white parents. This is likely due to the fact that many native-born Mexican origin adolescents have foreign-born parents who completed their schooling in Mexico. Whereas 76 percent of NH whites live in households that are at least two times above the poverty threshold, only 46 percent of native-born Mexican adolescents live in households whose poverty levels exceed two times the established threshold. These indicators reveal the persistence of socio-economic inequality between second and higher generation Mexican origin adolescents and NH whites, which is likely to affect educational outcomes.

Table 3. Demographic and Socio-Economic Background Characteristics of Mexican Origin and Non-Hispanic White 15-17 year-olds, 2005-2007 ACS.

	Percent (weighted)							N (unweighted)						
	Total Population		Mexican Origin					Total Population		Mexican Origin				
			Foreign Born				Native Born			Foreign Born				Native Born
	Mexican-Origin	NH White	Total 1st	1.25	1.5	1.75		Mexican-Origin	NH White	Total 1st	1.25	1.5	1.75	
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	40894	253748	8560	1807	3425	3328	32334
Gender														
Male	51.5%	51.4%	54.5%	60.5%	54.0%	51.3%	50.5%	21099	130923	4674	1113	1831	1730	16425
Female	48.5%	48.6%	45.5%	39.5%	46.0%	48.7%	49.5%	19795	122825	3886	694	1594	1598	15909
Age														
15	34.7%	33.4%	29.9%	16.4%	35.5%	32.6%	36.1%	14099	84558	2562	293	1175	1094	11537
16	33.4%	33.7%	32.8%	30.7%	33.7%	33.1%	33.5%	13677	85538	2820	554	1155	1111	10957
17	31.9%	32.9%	37.3%	52.9%	30.7%	34.3%	30.3%	13118	83652	3178	960	1095	1123	9940
Region														
Northeast	2.0%	19.5%	3.1%	5.3%	2.9%	1.9%	1.7%	743	50591	235	80	89	66	508
Midwest	10.3%	28.0%	12.1%	10.9%	13.3%	11.5%	9.7%	3819	72799	894	172	405	317	2925
South	31.3%	33.5%	34.6%	42.2%	34.3%	30.1%	30.3%	13155	83626	3076	779	1231	1066	10079
West	56.5%	19.1%	50.2%	41.6%	49.4%	56.4%	58.3%	23177	46732	4355	776	1700	1879	18822
Metropolitan Status														
Metro	90.6%	79.8%	89.9%	89.1%	89.9%	90.5%	90.8%	36479	192984	7532	1570	3016	2946	28947
Non-Metro	9.4%	20.2%	10.1%	10.9%	10.1%	9.5%	9.2%	4415	60764	1028	237	409	382	3387
Family Status														
Two Parent	59.3%	68.9%	56.6%	33.2%	62.5%	65.4%	60.0%	25457	181182	5201	671	2245	2285	20256
Mother Only	23.6%	18.8%	17.4%	14.6%	18.0%	18.7%	25.4%	8781	43588	1321	230	538	553	7460
Father Only	6.5%	6.5%	7.0%	9.8%	6.5%	5.8%	6.4%	2464	15403	531	169	203	162	1933
No Parents in HH	10.7%	5.8%	18.9%	42.4%	13.1%	10.2%	8.2%	4192	13575	1507	737	442	328	2685
Parental Education														
Less Than H.S.	41.3%	5.0%	60.4%	62.4%	59.5%	60.0%	35.7%	16114	11475	5180	1114	2066	2030	10934
H.S. Grad	26.0%	23.2%	23.0%	22.3%	24.4%	21.9%	26.8%	10361	57748	1857	384	773	700	8504
Some College	16.1%	21.8%	6.9%	6.5%	5.9%	8.3%	18.8%	6930	56023	638	129	219	290	6292
College Grad	15.0%	48.9%	7.7%	5.5%	8.4%	8.4%	17.2%	6862	126384	721	118	314	289	6141
(No Householder)	1.5%	1.1%	2.0%	3.3%	1.9%	1.4%	1.4%	627	2118	164	62	53	49	463
Poverty Status														
Below Pov. Threshold	26.7%	10.2%	36.6%	39.2%	36.3%	35.2%	23.8%	10254	23028	3025	687	1230	1108	7229
Between 1x-2x Pov.	32.0%	14.3%	38.5%	35.4%	40.5%	38.5%	30.1%	12923	35904	3331	650	1378	1303	9592
Over 2x Pov.	41.2%	75.5%	24.9%	25.4%	23.2%	26.3%	46.0%	17717	194816	2204	470	817	917	15513
Citizenship status														
Non-citizen	20.1%	NA	88.3%	95.9%	90.5%	81.4%	NA	7490	NA	1070	1709	3078	2703	NA
Citizen, naturalized, resident	79.9%	NA	11.7%	4.1%	9.5%	18.6%	NA	33404	NA	7490	98	347	625	NA

Characteristics of Mexican Origin Adolescents in New and Traditional Destinations

I now examine the distribution of Mexican origin adolescents across destination types. In Table 4, I show the proportion of Mexican origin adolescents living in new destinations by individual and background characteristics. Despite the rapid geographic diversification of Mexican immigrant settlement, traditional destination states still boast the largest share of Mexican origin 15-17 year-olds. From 2005-2007, approximately 27 percent of all 15-17 year-old Mexican origin adolescents lived in new destination states, with the remaining 73 percent living in of the "big five" traditional immigrant-receiving states. Results from Table 4 show that foreign-born immigrants are over-represented in new destinations, particularly the 1.25 generation. This uneven generational distribution is likely the reason that new destinations harbor a disproportionate number of undocumented non-citizens and individuals in linguistically isolated households. Approximately 57 percent of Mexican origin adolescents in non-metropolitan areas reside in new destinations, which speaks to the diversified metropolitan character of new destinations relative to traditional destinations.

Results from Table 4 also show that Mexican origin adolescents live in more adverse family situations than those in traditional destinations, but have comparable parental educational attainment profiles. Adolescents living with single fathers or without parents in the household are over-represented in new destinations. In addition, new destinations harbor a disproportionate share of Mexican origin adolescents who are employed, although I am not able to establish a causal relationship between employment status and destination type using these data. Despite divergent types of family compositions, Mexican origin adolescents are proportionately distributed across destinations on measures of parental education and poverty status. In fact, Mexican origin adolescents whose parents have some college education or more are slightly over-represented in new destinations. Overall, these results point to compositional differences between the new and traditional Mexican origin populations that are likely to produce higher than average school non-enrollment rates among the new destination population. The new destination Mexican origin population is disproportionately composed of foreign-born non-citizens, adolescents living in non-intact households, and adolescents who are employed.

Table 4. Percent New and Traditional Destination Population by Individual and Background Characteristics, Persons Ages 15 to 17 of Mexican Origin, 2005-2007 ACS.

	New Destination	Traditional Destination	n (urweighted)
New Destination Total	**27.3%**	**72.7%**	40894
Gender			
Male	27.7%	72.3%	21099
Female	27.0%	73.1%	19795
Age			
15	26.9%	73.1%	14099
16	27.3%	72.7%	13677
17	27.9%	72.1%	13118
Nativity			
Foreign Born	35.2%	64.8%	8560
Native Born	25.0%	75.0%	32334
Foreign Born Generation			
1.25	10.8%	89.2%	1837
1.5	36.8%	63.2%	3425
1.75	29.2%	70.8%	3328
Metropolitan Status			
Non-Metro	56.7%	43.3%	4415
Family Status			
Two Parent	26.0%	74.0%	25457
Mother Only	26.2%	73.8%	8781
Father Only	30.2%	69.8%	2464
No Parents in HH	35.6%	64.4%	4192
Parental Education			
Less Than H.S.	25.3%	74.7%	16114
H.S. Grad	27.2%	72.8%	10361
Some College	28.5%	71.5%	6930
College Grad	30.2%	69.8%	6862
(No Householder)	45.3%	54.7%	627
Poverty Status			
Below	28.5%	71.5%	10254
Between 1-2	27.3%	72.7%	12923
Above 2 times Pov	26.6%	73.4%	17717
Citizenship Status			
Non-Citizen	35.2%	64.8%	7490
Linguistic Isolation			
Linguistically Isolated HH	32.8%	67.2%	4316
Employment Status			
Employed	36.6%	63.4%	4758

*All percentages are weighted. (N) indicates the total at-risk population.

Rates of school non-enrollment among Mexican origin and NH white adolescents by individual and background characteristics

I now turn to the key dependent variables of interest, school non-enrollment among Mexican origin adolescents and NH whites. School non-enrollment tends to be a rare event among NH whites; Table 5 confirms that only 4 percent of NH white 15-17 year-olds are not enrolled in school. In contrast, approximately 8 percent of Mexican origin 15-17 year-olds are not enrolled in school, nearly twice the NH white rate of non-enrollment. This overall trend is consistent across sexes; both Mexican origin males and Mexican origin females are more likely to be non-enrolled than their NH white counterparts. Rates of non-enrollment increase with age for both Mexican origin adolescents and NH whites, but Mexican origin non-enrollment grows at a faster rate, producing larger disparities in non-enrollment by age 17.

Mexican origin adolescents in new destinations have higher rates of non-enrollment than their counterparts in traditional destinations. More than 10 percent of Mexican origin 15-17 year-olds in new destinations are not enrolled in school, compared to 6 percent of those in traditional destinations. This trend is not simply due to the uneven distribution of generations across destination types. For every immigrant generational group, Mexican origin adolescents in new destinations have higher rates of non-enrollment than their counterparts in traditional destinations, although this difference is small for the 1.5 generation. Consistent with traditional assimilation theory, rates of non-enrollment among the foreign-born Mexican origin population decrease steadily with increased duration of residence in the United States, in both types of destinations. Still, rates of non-enrollment among the 1.75 generation in both types of destinations are twice those of NH whites. The native-born Mexican origin population in new destinations has a 3 percentage point higher rate of non-enrollment than NH whites. However, native-born Mexican origin adolescents in traditional destinations have comparable rates of non-enrollment with NH whites. This finding is somewhat surprising, given the socio-economic profile of the native-born Mexican origin population in these destinations, and the predictions of the segmented assimilation theory.

The relationship between non-enrollment and other background characteristics follows a somewhat predictable pattern. Non-enrollment is higher for Mexican origin

adolescents in non-metropolitan areas, and this relationship is consistent across immigrant generations. Mexican origin adolescents who do not live with parents have the greatest risk of non-enrollment, regardless of immigrant generation. Consistent with the status attainment model, rates of non-enrollment decrease as parental education increases and as poverty status decreases. Interestingly, native-born Mexican origin adolescents have lower rates of non-enrollment than NH whites at comparable parental education levels below "college degree or higher." As I will demonstrate in logistic regression results, this confirms the central role that parental education plays in explaining educational gaps between native-born Mexican origin adolescents and NH whites. Finally, Mexican origin adolescents who are non-citizens are more at risk of school non-enrollment than those who are citizens, naturalized, or permanent residents. Nearly 1 in 5 non-citizens is not enrolled in school, although non-enrollment is lowest for non-citizens who arrived in the United States before the age of five.

Table 5. Percent School Non-enrollment among Mexican Origin and Non-Hispanic White Persons, Ages 15 to 17, by Individual and Household Background Characteristics, 2005-2007 ACS.

	Percent (weighted)							n (unweighted)						
			Mexican Origin							Mexican Origin				
			Foreign Born							Foreign Born				
	Mex. Origin	NH white	Total 1st	1.25	1.5	1.75	Native born	Mex. Origin	NH white	Total 1st	1.25	1.5	1.75	Native born
Total	7.6%	3.7%	18.1%	45.0%	10.7%	8.7%	4.5%	40694	253748	8568	1807	3425	3336	32334
Destination Type														
New Destination	11.5%	3.9%	22.1%	51.3%	11.4%	10.7%	7.0%	11056	182468	2941	731	1239	971	8115
Traditional Destination	6.1%	3.3%	15.9%	40.7%	10.3%	7.9%	3.6%	29638	71280	5619	1076	2186	2357	24219
Gender														
Male	8.8%	3.8%	22.1%	54.3%	12.4%	8.8%	4.5%	21099	130923	4679	1113	1831	1730	16425
Female	6.3%	3.7%	13.3%	30.8%	8.8%	8.6%	4.4%	19795	122825	3886	694	1594	1598	15909
Age														
15	3.2%	2.2%	8.1%	29.7%	5.3%	4.4%	2.1%	14099	84558	2562	293	1175	1094	11537
16	6.4%	3.2%	15.3%	41.4%	9.1%	6.7%	3.9%	13677	85538	2820	554	1155	1111	10857
17	13.4%	5.9%	28.5%	51.8%	18.8%	14.8%	8.0%	13118	83652	3178	960	1095	1123	9940
Metropolitan Status														
Metro	7.4%	3.5%	17.7%	44.5%	10.4%	8.5%	4.3%	36479	192984	7532	1570	3016	2946	28947
Non-Metro	9.5%	4.8%	21.7%	49.4%	13.5%	10.7%	5.6%	4215	60764	1028	237	409	382	3387
Family Status														
Two Parents	3.8%	2.7%	7.5%	20.0%	5.8%	5.3%	2.8%	25457	181182	5201	671	2245	2285	20256
Mother Only	6.4%	4.5%	14.3%	27.3%	10.1%	12.0%	4.8%	8781	43588	1321	230	538	553	7460
Father Only	10.5%	4.9%	26.0%	52.5%	14.4%	11.0%	5.5%	2464	15483	531	169	200	162	1933
No Parents in HH	29.0%	12.7%	50.2%	69.0%	33.3%	23.4%	14.5%	4192	13575	1507	737	442	328	2685
Parental Education														
(No Householder record)	32.1%	22.1%	44.2%	62.0%	29.7%	37.7%	26.9%	827	2118	164	62	53	49	463
Less Than H.S.	10.0%	14.0%	19.6%	48.8%	10.9%	9.4%	5.3%	16114	11475	5180	1114	2066	2000	10934
H.S. Grad.	7.1%	5.3%	16.9%	41.1%	12.0%	6.9%	4.7%	10361	57748	1857	384	772	700	8504
Some College	3.7%	3.3%	12.4%	29.6%	9.2%	6.3%	2.8%	6930	56013	638	129	219	290	6292
College degree or higher	3.1%	1.7%	8.1%	25.4%	2.8%	6.3%	2.4%	6862	126384	721	118	314	299	6141
Poverty Status														
Below Poverty	10.7%	9.5%	17.6%	38.6%	11.6%	9.3%	7.5%	10254	23018	3025	697	1220	1108	7220
Between 1-2x poverty	7.9%	5.7%	17.3%	47.3%	9.4%	8.6%	4.3%	12923	35964	3331	650	1378	1303	9592
Above 2x poverty	5.3%	2.6%	19.9%	51.7%	11.7%	8.1%	2.9%	17517	194816	2204	470	817	917	15513
Citizenship Status														
Non-citizen	9.2%	NA	9.2%	45.8%	11.2%	8.6%	NA	7490	NA	7490	1709	3078	2703	NA
Citizen, naturalized, resident	4.6%	3.7%	9.5%	27.0%	5.8%	9.0%	4.5%	33404	253748	1078	98	347	625	32334

Logistic Regression Results

Odds Ratios of Non-Enrollment to Enrollment by Ethnicity and Destination

Descriptive results show that new destination Mexican origin adolescents have higher observed rates of school non-enrollment than both their counterparts in traditional destinations and NH whites. I now examine the determinants of non-enrollment differences between the new and traditional destination Mexican origin adolescents populations and NH whites. To begin, I estimate a logistic regression model where I assume an interaction between ethnicity and destination for the Mexican origin population. I estimate the following model:

$$\ln\left(\frac{p_{non-enroll}}{1-p_{non-enroll}}\right) = \beta_0 + x_{Mex,NewDest}\beta_{Mex,NewDest} + x_{Mex,TradDest}\beta_{Mex,TradDest} + x_{background}\beta_{background} + \varepsilon$$

Where $x_{Mex,NewDest}$ is a dummy variable representing Mexican origin adolescents in new destinations, and $x_{Mex,TradDest}$ is a dummy variable representing Mexican origin adolescents in traditional destinations (with NH whites as the reference group). I use a robust standard error that is clustered by state FIPS code to account for potential intraclass correlation among cases nested in states. I exponentiate the log odds for this model to obtain odds ratios, which are displayed in Table 6. Odds ratios over "1" indicate that new or traditional destination Mexican origin adolescents have higher odds of non-enrollment relative to NH whites, and odds ratios below "1" indicate the opposite.

In the baseline model (Model 1), Mexican origin adolescents in new destinations have over three times the odds of non-enrollment of NH whites, whereas Mexican origin adolescents in traditional destinations are only 1.7 times more likely be non-enrolled in school than NH whites. Controlling for immigrant generation (Model 2) attenuates the relative odds of non-enrollment for both destination groups. When immigrant generation is controlled, the odds ratio of non-enrollment for traditional destination Mexican origin adolescents, relative to NH whites, becomes non-significant. This means that differences in non-enrollment between traditional destination adolescents and NH whites are largely due to the higher than average rates of non-enrollment among the foreign-born Mexican origin population in traditional destinations. Controlling for parental education (Model 4) further reduces the odds ratios of non-enrollment for Mexican origin adolescents in

traditional destinations to a value below "1," indicating that the traditional destination population has 44 percent *lower* odds of school non-enrollment compared to NH whites when generation, sex, age, and parental education are controlled. This is a surprising finding, which has not been documented in previous literature. Holding immigrant generation and parental education constant reduces the relative odds of non-enrollment between new destination Mexican origin adolescents and NH whites to non-significance. For the new destination Mexican origin population then, non-enrollment differences with NH whites can largely be explained by compositional factors linked to immigrant generation and parental educational attainment. To summarize, in the absence of generational and parental education effects on non-enrollment, the traditional destination Mexican origin population would experience an enrollment advantage over NH whites, and the new destination population would be indistinguishable from NH whites. I discuss the implications of these results in the conclusion.

Table 6. Odds Ratios of School Non-enrollment to Enrollment for Mexican Origin and Non-Hispanic White 15-17 Year-Olds By Destination Type, 2005-2007 ACS.

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
Variable	Odds Ratio	S.E.	p-value	Odds Ratio	S.E.	p-value	Odds Ratio	S.E.	p-value	Odds Ratio	S.E.	p-value
Destination Type by Mexican Origin												
Mexican Origin- New Destinations	**3.33**	**0.37**	**0.000**	**1.73**	**0.16**	**0.000**	**1.81**	**0.17**	**0.000**	**1.02**	**0.10**	**0.820**
Mexican Origin- Traditional Destinations	**1.67**	**0.21**	**0.000**	**1.03**	**0.13**	**0.830**	**1.05**	**0.13**	**0.678**	**0.56**	**0.08**	**0.000**
(Ref. NH White)												
Generation by Mexican Origin												
1.75 Generation				2.00	0.31	0.000	1.94	0.29	0.000	1.48	0.23	0.011
1.5 Generation				2.41	0.29	0.000	2.43	0.28	0.000	1.83	0.24	0.000
1.25 Generation				16.54	1.73	0.000	14.04	1.42	0.000	10.91	1.13	0.000
(Ref. 2 + Mex & NHW)												
Sex												
Female							0.91	0.02	0.000	0.92	0.02	0.001
(Ref. Male)												
Age												
Age 15							0.33	0.02	0.000	0.34	0.02	0.000
Age 16							0.51	0.02	0.000	0.52	0.02	0.000
(Ref. Age 17)												
Family Status												
No Parents												
Single Parent- Mother												
Single Parent- Father												
(Ref. Intact Family)												
Parental Education												
No Householder Record										14.25	1.54	0.000
Less than High School										6.64	0.84	0.000
High School Graduate										3.18	0.14	0.000
Some College										1.89	0.10	0.000
(Ref. College Degree or Higher)												
Metropolitan Status												
Non-Metropolitan												
(Ref. Metropolitan)												
Citizenship Status												
Non-citizen												
(Ref. Citizen or naturalized)												
Poverty Status												
Below Poverty												
1-2x Above Pov. Threshold												
(Ref. 2x poverty)												
Pseudo R-squared			0.015			0.045			0.068			0.119
BIC			3290262			3191323			3114372			2942350
N			294642			294642			294642			294642

(Table 6 Cont'd.)

	Model 5			Model 6			Model 7			Model 8		
Variable	Odds Ratio	S.E.	p-value	Odds Ratio	S.E.	p-value	Odds Ratio	S.E.	p-value	Odds Ratio	S.E.	p-value
Destination Type by Mexican Origin												
Mexican Origin- New Destinations	**1.06**	**0.10**	**0.551**	**1.07**	**0.10**	**0.502**	**1.07**	**0.10**	**0.489**	**1.02**	**0.10**	**0.803**
Mexican Origin- Traditional Destinations	**0.60**	**0.08**	**0.000**	**0.62**	**0.08**	**0.000**	**0.62**	**0.08**	**0.000**	**0.59**	**0.07**	**0.000**
(Ref. NH White)												
Generation by Mexican Origin												
1.75 Generation	1.54	0.22	0.002	1.55	0.22	0.002	1.26	0.24	0.232	1.26	0.24	0.239
1.5 Generation	1.85	0.22	0.000	1.85	0.22	0.000	1.48	0.28	0.038	1.47	0.28	0.043
1.25 Generation	8.25	0.73	0.000	8.28	0.73	0.000	6.54	1.18	0.000	6.68	1.22	0.000
(Ref. 2+ Mex & NHW)												
Sex												
Female	0.92	0.02	0.001	0.92	0.02	0.001	0.92	0.02	0.001	0.92	0.02	0.000
(Ref. Male)												
Age												
Age 15	0.35	0.02	0.000	0.35	0.02	0.000	0.35	0.02	0.000	0.35	0.02	0.000
Age 16	0.53	0.02	0.000	0.53	0.02	0.000	0.53	0.02	0.000	0.52	0.02	0.000
(Ref. Age 17)												
Family Status												
No Parents	3.13	0.29	0.000	3.12	0.29	0.000	3.12	0.29	0.000	2.86	0.32	0.000
Single Parent- Mother	1.37	0.09	0.000	1.37	0.09	0.000	1.37	0.09	0.000	1.25	0.10	0.006
Single Parent- Father	1.44	0.12	0.000	1.45	0.12	0.000	1.45	0.12	0.000	1.42	0.12	0.000
(Ref. Intact Family)												
Parental Education												
No Householder Record	5.06	0.47	0.000	5.02	0.46	0.000	5.02	0.46	0.000	4.07	0.41	0.000
Less than High School	5.03	0.73	0.000	4.95	0.72	0.000	4.94	0.73	0.000	4.31	0.58	0.000
High School Graduate	2.71	0.12	0.000	2.67	0.12	0.000	2.67	0.12	0.000	2.47	0.10	0.000
Some College	1.72	0.09	0.000	1.70	0.10	0.000	1.71	0.10	0.000	1.63	0.09	0.000
(Ref. College Degree or Higher)												
Metropolitan Status												
Non-Metropolitan				1.14	0.05	0.005	1.14	0.05	0.005	1.11	0.05	0.029
(Ref. Metropolitan)												
Citizenship Status												
Non-citizen							1.28	0.21	0.126	1.24	0.20	0.184
(Ref. Citizen or naturalized)												
Poverty Status												
Below Poverty										1.42	0.11	0.000
1-2x Above Pov. Threshold										1.34	0.05	0.000
(Ref. 2x poverty)												
Pseudo R-squared			0.132			0.133			0.133			0.135
BIC			2898213			2897225			2897072			2897223
N			294642			294642			294642			294642

Odds Ratios of Non-enrollment by Ethnicity, Generation, and Destination

The results discussed above show that immigrant generation plays an important role in explaining educational enrollment differences between Mexican origin adolescents and NH whites in new and traditional destinations. Controlling for immigrant generation in the models above attenuates baseline non-enrollment differences between new and traditional destination Mexican origin adolescents and NH whites, and provides an improved model fit. To better understand how non-enrollment patterns vary between generational groups across destinations, I estimate the following logistic regression model:

$$logit(p_{non\text{-}enroll}) = \ln\left(\frac{p_{non\text{-}enroll}}{1 - p_{non\text{-}enroll}}\right) = \beta_0 + x_{ethnicity}\beta_{ethnicity} + x_{dest \times gen}\beta_{dest \times gen} + \varepsilon$$

This is similar to the model estimated above, but creates interactions *(dest X gen)* for destination type and generation using nine dummy variables: New Destination (ND) 1.25 generation, ND 1.5 generation, ND 1.75 generation, ND 2^{nd} and higher generation, Traditional Destination (TD) 1.25 generation, TD 1.5 generation, TD 1.75 generation, TD 2^{nd} and higher generation, and NH whites. As above, I exponentiate the logit coefficients to obtain odds ratios, and present the results in Table 7.

Table 7 tells a more complete story about the determinants of non-enrollment for Mexican origin generational groups across destinations. In the baseline model (Model 1) all new destination generational groups have higher odds ratios of non-enrollment, relative to NH whites, than their counterparts in traditional destinations. When parental education is controlled (Model 4), a non-enrollment advantage appears for the second and higher generation traditional destination population. In contrast, holding parental education constant reduces non-enrollment differences between second and higher generation new destination adolescents and NH whites to non-significance, but does not produce an enrollment advantage. Non-enrollment differences between the 1.75 generation groups in both destinations and NH whites also become non-significant when parental education is held constant. Adding citizenship status to model (Model 7) reduces the difference in the odds of non-enrollment between 1.5 generation adolescents and NH whites to non-significance, for both types of destinations. This indicates that

non-citizenship imposes a constraint beyond nativity and parental education for the 1.5 generation.

Non-enrollment among 1.25 generation Mexican origin adolescents in both types of destinations is not well explained by the covariates in these models. In the baseline model (Model 1), the 1.25 generation in new and traditional destinations have odds of non-enrollment that are 27 and 17 times higher, respectively, than NH whites. Arriving in the United States after the age of twelve thus constitutes a major risk factor for non-enrollment. Controlling for all individual and background covariates substantially reduces the baseline odds ratios for the 1.25 generations in both types of destinations. However, 1.25 generation adolescents still have over four times the odds of school non-enrollment than NH whites in the full model (Model 8). This suggests that unmeasured factors are affecting rates of non-enrollment patterns of the 1.25 generation, such as migration for employment purposes. or insufficient school support for new arrivals.

Table 7. Odds Ratios of Non-Enrollment to Enrollment for Mexican Origin 15-17 Year Olds, by Immigrant Generation and Destination Type, 2005-2007 ACS.

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
Variable	Odds Ratio	S.E.	p-value	Odds Ratio	S.E.	p-value	Odds Ratio	S.E.	p-value	Odds Ratio	S.E.	p-value
Mexican Origin in New Destinations												
1.25 generation	**27.12**	**3.65**	**0.000**	**24.27**	**3.35**	**0.000**	**13.51**	**1.74**	**0.000**	**10.46**	**1.52**	**0.000**
1.5 generation	**3.30**	**0.44**	**0.000**	**3.49**	**0.47**	**0.000**	**3.06**	**0.37**	**0.000**	**1.45**	**0.22**	**0.017**
1.75 generation	**3.09**	**0.52**	**0.000**	**3.19**	**0.55**	**0.000**	**2.86**	**0.50**	**0.000**	**1.35**	**0.26**	**0.123**
2 + generation	**1.95**	**0.21**	**0.000**	**2.01**	**0.23**	**0.000**	**1.75**	**0.20**	**0.000**	**1.16**	**0.13**	**0.196**
Mexican Origin in Traditional Destinations												
1.25 generation	**17.66**	**1.53**	**0.000**	**15.26**	**1.37**	**0.000**	**9.56**	**0.85**	**0.000**	**6.39**	**0.65**	**0.000**
1.5 generation	**2.97**	**0.33**	**0.000**	**3.04**	**0.35**	**0.000**	**2.61**	**0.31**	**0.000**	**1.24**	**0.16**	**0.091**
1.75 generation	**2.20**	**0.14**	**0.000**	**2.17**	**0.13**	**0.000**	**1.99**	**0.10**	**0.000**	**0.89**	**0.08**	**0.159**
2 + generation	**0.96**	**0.13**	**0.751**	**0.99**	**0.13**	**0.936**	**0.91**	**0.11**	**0.449**	**0.52**	**0.08**	**0.000**
(Ref. NH Whites)												
Sex												
Female				0.91	0.02	0.000	0.91	0.02	0.000	0.92	0.02	0.001
(Ref. Male)												
Age												
Age 15				0.33	0.02	0.000	0.35	0.02	0.000	0.34	0.02	0.000
Age 16				0.51	0.02	0.000	0.53	0.02	0.000	0.52	0.02	0.000
(Ref. Age 17)												
Family Status												
No Parents							5.27	0.35	0.000			
Single Parent- Mother							1.75	0.09	0.000			
Single Parent- Father							1.99	0.13	0.000			
(Ref. Intact Family)												
Parental Education												
No Householder										14.22	1.55	0.000
Less than H.S.										6.66	0.84	0.000
H.S. Graduate										3.19	0.14	0.000
Some College										1.89	0.10	0.000
(Ref. College Degree or Higher)												
Metropolitan Status												
Non-Metropolitan												
(Ref. Metropolitan)												
Citizenship Status												
Non-citizen												
(Ref. Citizen or Naturalized)												
Poverty Status												
Below Poverty												
1x -2x Above Pov. Threshold												
(Ref. 2x Above Pov. Threshold)												
Pseudo R-Squared			0.0448			0.0678			0.1048			0.1194
BIC			3190285			3113505			2989904			2941214
N			294642			294642			294642			294642

(Table 7 cont'd.)

Variable	Model 5			Model 6			Model 7			Model 8		
	Odds Ratio	S.E.	p-value	Odds Ratio	S.E.	p-value	Odds Ratio	S.E.	p-value	Odds Ratio	S.E.	p-value
Mexican Origin in New Destinations												
1.25 generation	**7.99**	**1.06**	**0.000**	**8.08**	**1.09**	**0.000**	**6.45**	**1.24**	**0.000**	**6.35**	**1.22**	**0.000**
1.5 generation	**1.55**	**0.23**	**0.003**	**1.57**	**0.23**	**0.003**	**1.26**	**0.25**	**0.250**	**1.20**	**0.24**	**0.376**
1.75 generation	**1.49**	**0.29**	**0.043**	**1.50**	**0.29**	**0.037**	**1.24**	**0.28**	**0.330**	**1.19**	**0.27**	**0.438**
2 + generation	**1.20**	**0.14**	**0.117**	**1.21**	**0.14**	**0.102**	**1.21**	**0.14**	**0.101**	**1.16**	**0.14**	**0.215**
Mexican Origin in Traditional Destinations												
1.25 generation	**5.30**	**0.54**	**0.000**	**5.47**	**0.54**	**0.000**	**4.36**	**0.83**	**0.000**	**4.25**	**0.81**	**0.000**
1.5 generation	**1.32**	**0.18**	**0.037**	**1.36**	**0.18**	**0.016**	**1.10**	**0.22**	**0.635**	**1.05**	**0.20**	**0.821**
1.75 generation	**0.98**	**0.09**	**0.827**	**1.01**	**0.09**	**0.900**	**0.83**	**0.13**	**0.228**	**0.79**	**0.13**	**0.149**
2 + generation	**0.56**	**0.08**	**0.000**	**0.58**	**0.08**	**0.000**	**0.58**	**0.08**	**0.000**	**0.55**	**0.07**	**0.000**
(Rel. NH Whites)												
Sex												
Female	0.92	0.02	0.001	0.92	0.02	0.001	0.92	0.02	0.001	0.92	0.02	0.000
(Rel. Male)												
Age												
Age 15	0.35	0.02	0.000	0.35	0.02	0.000	0.35	0.02	0.000	0.35	0.02	0.000
Age 16	0.53	0.02	0.000	0.53	0.02	0.000	0.53	0.02	0.000	0.52	0.02	0.000
(Rel. Age 17)												
Family Status												
No Parents	3.12	0.29	0.000	3.12	0.29	0.000	3.12	0.29	0.000	2.85	0.32	0.000
Single Parent- Mother	1.37	0.09	0.000	1.37	0.09	0.000	1.37	0.09	0.000	1.24	0.10	0.007
Single Parent- Father	1.44	0.12	0.000	1.45	0.12	0.000	1.45	0.12	0.000	1.42	0.12	0.000
(Rel. Intact Family)												
Parental Education												
No Householder	5.06	0.47	0.000	5.02	0.46	0.000	5.02	0.46	0.000	4.07	0.41	0.000
Less than H.S.	5.05	0.73	0.000	4.97	0.73	0.000	4.96	0.73	0.000	4.32	0.58	0.000
H.S. Graduate	2.71	0.12	0.000	2.67	0.12	0.000	2.67	0.12	0.000	2.47	0.10	0.000
Some College	1.72	0.09	0.000	1.70	0.10	0.000	1.70	0.10	0.000	1.63	0.09	0.000
(Rel. College Degree or Higher)												
Metropolitan Status												
Non-Metropolitan				1.14	0.05	0.005	1.14	0.05	0.005	1.11	0.05	0.029
(Rel. Metropolitan)												
Citizenship Status												
Non-citizen							1.27	0.20	0.136	1.23	0.20	0.200
(Rel. Citizen or Naturalized)												
Poverty Status												
Below Poverty										1.42	0.11	0.000
1x -2x Above Pov. Threshhold										1.35	0.05	0.000
(Rel. 2x Above Pov. Threshhold)												
Pseudo R-Squared			0.1326			0.1329			0.133			0.1349
BIC			2897232			2896226			2896085			2889730
N			294642			294642			294642			294642

Predicted Probabilities

I use the coefficients from the logistic regression model in Table 6 to calculate the predicted probabilities of non-enrollment for Mexican origin adolescents and NH whites. I vary levels of immigrant generation, destination type, and parental educational attainment, while holding all other variables at their means (the proportion of the population that is represented in each category.) Predicted probabilities and lower and upper confidence intervals (95% level) are displayed in Table 8 and in Figures 1a-1d. These predicted probabilities confirm that immigrant generation and parental education play key roles in producing differences in rates of non-enrollment both within the Mexican origin population and between Mexican origin adolescents and NH whites.

The predicted probability of non-enrollment decreases as immigrant generation increases, across all levels of parental education. The predicted probability of non-enrollment also drops steadily as parental education increases. For every Mexican origin generational group except for the 1.25 generation, the predicted probability of non-enrollment drops below 5 percent for adolescents whose parent has some college education or more. These results support the traditional assimilation and status attainment models; school enrollment outcomes improve as duration of residence in the U.S. increases, and as parents reach higher levels of educational attainment. Figures 1a-1d also demonstrate that new destination Mexican origin groups have higher predicted probabilities of non-enrollment than the traditional destination group at each level of parental education and among each generational group. However, the 95% confidence intervals overlap within generational groups, indicating that there is not a significant difference in the predicted probability of non-enrollment within immigrant generations at comparable levels of parental education. In other words, there is no net effect of destinations on non-enrollment for Mexican origin adolescents with similar immigrant generational backgrounds and levels of parental educational attainment.

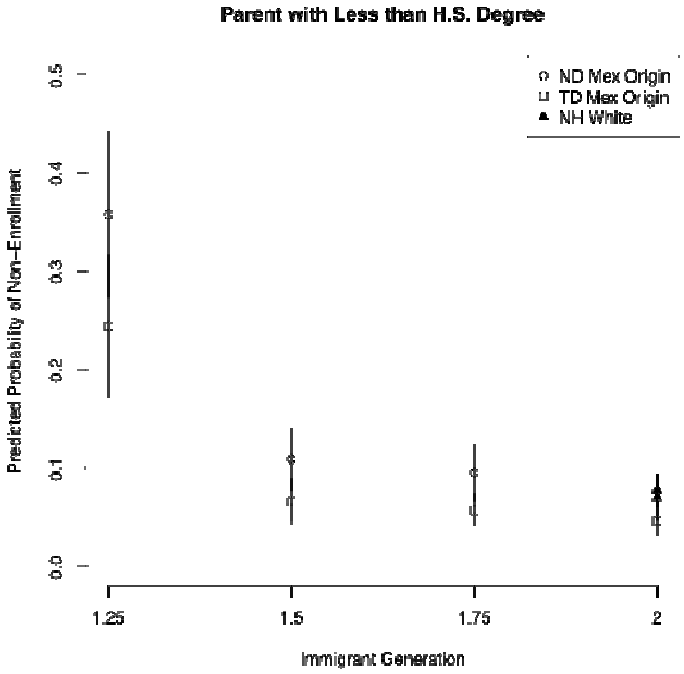
Table 8. Predicted Probabilities of Non-enrollment for Mexican Origin and NH white Adolescents, by Immigrant Generation, Destination Type, and Parental Educational Attainment, 2005-2007 ACS.

	Parent with Less than H.S. Degree			Parent with H.S. Degree			Parent with Some College			Parent with College Degree or Higher		
Ethnicity, Generation, Destination	Margin	Lower CI	Upper CI	Margin	Lower CI	Upper CI	Margin	Lower CI	Upper CI	Margin	Lower CI	Upper CI
Mex. Origin 1.25 Generation, New Destinations (ND)	**0.358**	0.273	0.443	**0.242**	0.180	0.304	**0.175**	0.126	0.223	**0.115**	0.079	0.150
Mex. Origin 1.25 Generation, Traditional Destinations (TD)	**0.244**	0.171	0.317	**0.156**	0.109	0.203	**0.109**	0.074	0.144	**0.070**	0.047	0.093
Mex. Origin 1.5 Generation, ND	**0.109**	0.077	0.141	**0.065**	0.043	0.088	**0.044**	0.030	0.059	**0.028**	0.018	0.038
Mex. Origin 1.5 Generation, TD	**0.066**	0.044	0.089	**0.039**	0.024	0.054	**0.026**	0.016	0.036	**0.016**	0.010	0.022
Mex. Origin 1.75 Generation, ND	**0.095**	0.066	0.123	**0.057**	0.036	0.077	**0.038**	0.025	0.051	**0.024**	0.015	0.033
Mex. Origin 1.75 Generation, TD	**0.057**	0.042	0.073	**0.034**	0.023	0.044	**0.023**	0.016	0.030	**0.014**	0.009	0.019
Mex. Origin 2+ Generation, ND	**0.077**	0.060	0.094	**0.046**	0.038	0.053	**0.031**	0.025	0.036	**0.019**	0.016	0.023
Mex. Origin 2+ Generation, TD	**0.046**	0.032	0.060	**0.027**	0.020	0.034	**0.018**	0.013	0.023	**0.011**	0.009	0.014
NH Whites, ND	**0.077**	0.060	0.094	**0.046**	0.043	0.049	**0.031**	0.028	0.033	**0.019**	0.018	0.021
NH Whites, TD	**0.070**	0.046	0.094	**0.041**	0.031	0.051	**0.028**	0.021	0.035	**0.017**	0.014	0.021

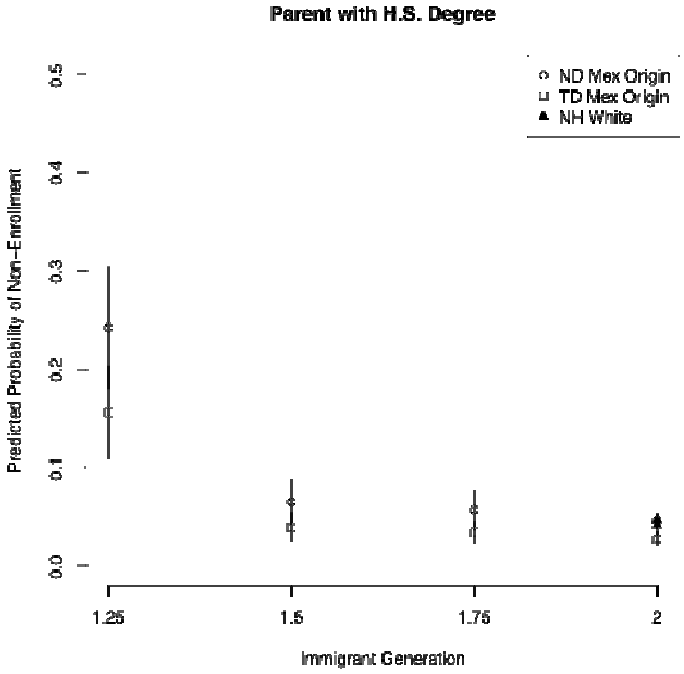
(N= 294,642)
*Standard Errors are calculated using the delta method.
**Confidence intervals are calculated at the 95% level.
Predicted probabilities are calculated using the logits from the full (saturated) model in Table 6.
Other covariate levels are fixed at their means.

Figures 1a-1d. Predicted Probabilities of Non-enrollment with 95% Confidence Intervals, Mexican Origin and Non-Hispanic Whites, by Generation, Destination Type, and Parental Educational Attainment, 2005-2007 ACS.

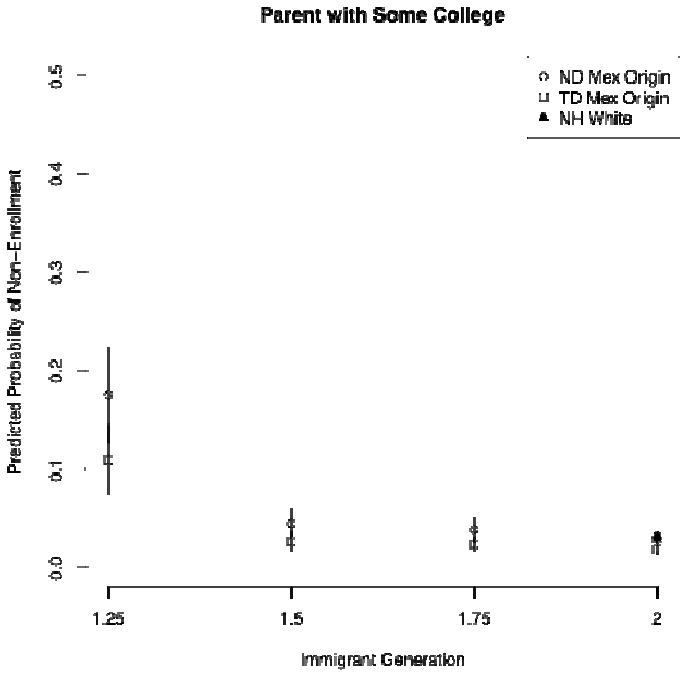
1a. Predicted Probability of Non-Enrollment, Parent with Less than High School Degree



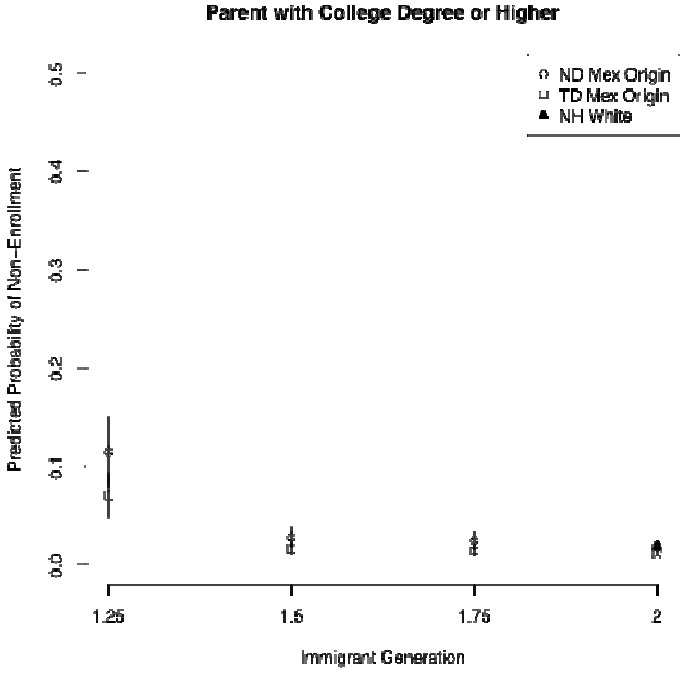
1b. Predicted Probability of Non-Enrollment, Parent with High School Degree



1c. Predicted Probability of Non-Enrollment, Parent with Some College



1d. Predicted Probability of Non-Enrollment, Parent with College Degree or Higher



Summary and Conclusion

The changing geography of Mexican immigration is associated with spatial heterogeneity in the non-enrollment outcomes of the Mexican origin adolescent population. I have shown that Mexican origin adolescents in new destinations have higher baseline rates of non-enrollment than their counterparts in traditional destinations and NH whites. Differences in the likelihood of non-enrollment between Mexican origin adolescents in new and traditional destinations and NH white adolescents can largely be explained by compositional differences, namely immigrant generation and parental educational attainment. Many Mexican Americans are recent arrivals, and the overall Mexican origin population has much poorer home environments than NH whites, as indexed by parental education. I find no evidence of a negative new destination effect on non-enrollment, net of these background factors. These results highlight the importance of nativity, duration of residence, and parental education as determinants of educational disparities between Mexican origin adolescents and NH whites, regardless of the destination where they reside.

While the segmented assimilation framework suggests that some second and higher generation Mexican American adolescents in states such as California are at risk of downward assimilation, my results do not support this conclusion. I show that native-born Mexican origin adolescents in the "Big Five" traditional immigrant-receiving states have comparable odds of non-enrollment with NH whites in baseline models, and lower odds of non-enrollment at comparable levels of parental education. These findings weaken claims that native-born Mexican origin adolescents in traditional destinations are undergoing a process of downward assimilation, or that these adolescents are racialized minorities who disassociate themselves from schools as a response to discrimination. Native-born Mexican origin adolescents in new destinations have higher than average non-enrollment rates, which could lead to the conclusion that new destination contexts contribute to the downward assimilation of this subgroup. Controlling for parental education, however, reduces the non-enrollment gap between native-born new destination Mexican origin adolescents and NH whites to non-significance, indicating that new destinations do not have a net negative effect on the school non-enrollment outcomes of this group.

I am unable to explain one phenomenon that emerges in the data for the native-born Mexican origin population in traditional destinations. When parental education is held constant, native-born Mexican origin adolescents in traditional destinations experience an enrollment advantage over NH whites, but a similar enrollment advantage never emerges for the native-born new destination population. This suggests the existence of unmeasured heterogeneity that gives the native-born population in traditional destinations an enrollment advantage over NH whites at comparable levels of parental education. Several factors merit further exploration, including the "immigrant optimism" hypothesis (Kao and Tienda 1995), co-ethnic support, and school support for native-born students of Mexican origin in traditional immigrant destinations.

Foreign-born Mexican origin adolescents who arrive in the United States as teenagers, the 1.25 generation, have the highest risk of school non-enrollment, regardless of the type of destination where they reside. Although the 1.25 generation represents only 5 percent of the overall Mexican origin 15-17 year-old population, approximately 32 percent of all non-enrolled Mexican origin adolescents are members of this group. Even after all individual and background factors are held constant, the Mexican origin 1.25 generation in both new and traditional destinations have odds of non-enrollment that are four times higher than those of NH whites. The 1.25 generation is disproportionately comprised of males and adolescents who do not live with parents, which is consistent with Oropesa and Landale's (2009) description of labor migrants who arrive in the United States as teenagers and never enroll in school. A set of variables linked to individual motivation to work or local labor market opportunities could be influencing the non-enrollment patterns of the 1.25 generation in both destinations. Some members of the 1.25 generation could also be responding to the inability of families or local school systems to provide adequate support for teenage migrant arrivals. Smith, for instance, showed that gangs, rather than schools, became the primary socializing institutions for teenage migrants arriving in New York City in the 1990s (2006). The 1.25 generation may drop out of school as a rational response to limited opportunities in school and the presence of viable alternatives such as work.

The ACS data utilized in this study presented several limitations. First, the cross-sectional ACS limits my ability to address causation and to fully explore the process of

assimilation, which is best understood using longitudinal data. Although I relate my findings to theories of assimilation, my research only provides a snapshot of how the broad process of assimilation is proceeding for Mexican origin adolescents in new and traditional destinations. A nationally representative, longitudinal study of Mexican origin adolescents would allow me to make stronger claims about the role that immigrant destinations play in influencing the social processes that lead students to drop out or stay enrolled in school. Second, my dependent variable, school non-enrollment is only one indicator of assimilation. The ACS data precludes me from discussing other educational performance measures related to the achievement gap, such as high school grades, standardized test scores, or college readiness. These outcomes merit inquiry in a future analysis.

Third, the ACS data do not allow me to discuss the crucial role that the central city plays in shaping non-enrollment outcomes. As I discussed in the introduction, attributes of the central city are cited as key factors that influence the negative educational outcomes of Mexican origin adolescents. Due to data limitations at lower levels of geography in the ACS, I was unable to identify central city status for a significant number of Mexican origin adolescents. This prevents me from exploring interactions between destinations types and central city status. It is possible that Mexican origin adolescents in central cities face greater obstacles to enrollment than those in suburbs or rural areas, regardless of destination type. This relationship must be explored in future analyses. Finally, the absence of parental birthplace question in the ACS prevents me from identifying the generational status of a significant contingent of the native-born Mexican origin population. This limits the generalizability of my results to second generation adolescents who are living with at least one foreign-born parent, and to the third and higher generation Mexican origin adolescents who still identify as Mexican Hispanic. This analysis could be improved through the use of a dataset that includes information on parental birthplace.

My analysis prompts researchers to re-evaluate the generalizability of theoretical frameworks that are based on samples of immigrants in traditional urban gateways. While the CILS has shed light on a group of native-born Mexican Americans in California who appear to be experiencing adverse social outcomes, my study shows that

large portions of Mexican origin adolescents, particularly those who were born in the United States and live in traditional destinations, are enrolled in school. Frameworks that focus myopically on Mexican Americans and the underclass debate overshadow the experiences of many Mexican origin adolescents who exhibit pro-social behaviors such as school enrollment. As the geography of Mexican immigrant settlement continues to diversify, future research must be inclusive of the educational outcomes of Mexican origin adolescents across the United States.

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